

ANCIENT EGYPT

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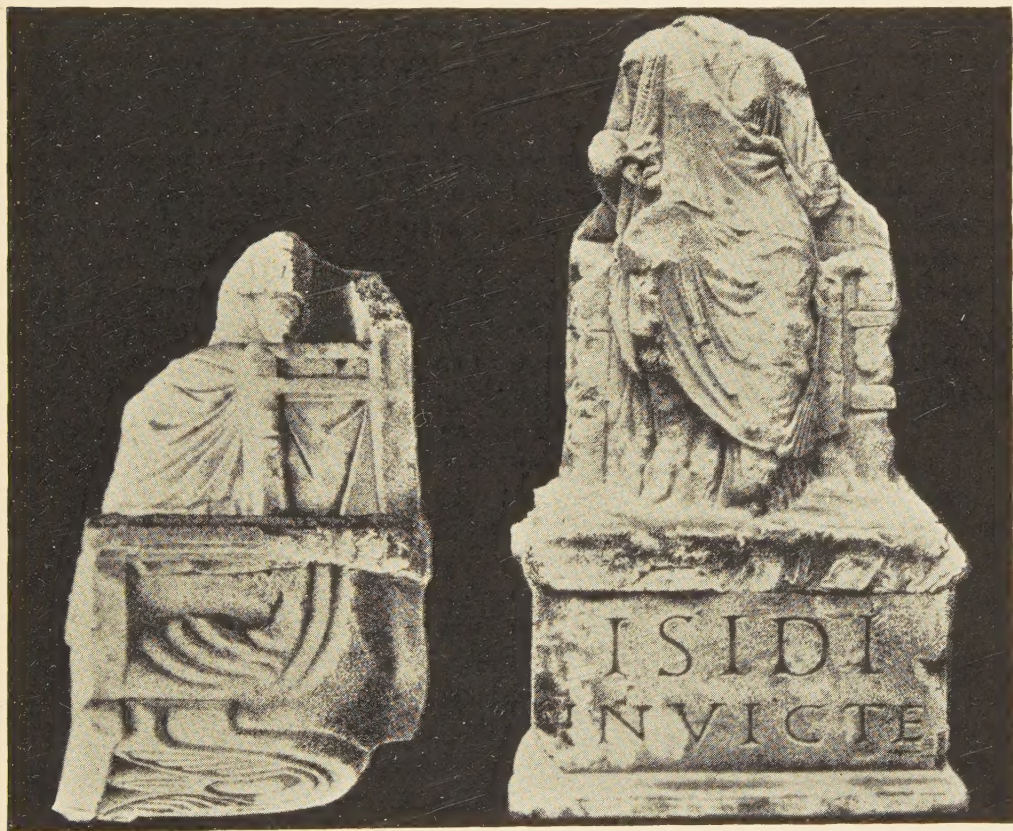
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ANCIENT EGYPT.

ISIS AT COLOGNE AND AIX.

ONE of the most interesting relics of the Roman occupation of Cologne may still be seen almost where it was found, as it has not been removed to a collection of Rhineland antiquities. Exhibited in the triforium of the Church of St. Ursula is a Roman statue of Isis, which was discovered in the north wall of the nave in 1882. The find was discussed in *Bonner Jahrbuch*, LXXVI, 1883, from which



(1)
FIGS. 1 AND 2.—FIGURE OF ISIS. CHURCH OF ST. URSULA, COLOGNE.
(1) FORESHORTENED TO SHOW FACE OF LATER CAPITAL BELOW.

the accompanying illustrations are taken (Figs. 1 and 2). The following details, however, may be of interest, as the statue and its whereabouts do not appear to be widely known.

On removing some superfluous arched ribs from the north wall of the nave, it was found that one pillar projected further into the wall than its neighbours, the reason being that the front of its capital had been carved out of the under surface of the plinth of a statue (Fig. 1), the statue itself having been completely

immured. The find was replaced by a new capital, and statue and plinth are now exhibited in the church. The material is Jura limestone. The measurements are 51·8 cm. (about 20½ inches) including base, the base itself measuring 27·5 cm. square and 18·2 cm. in height. The figure is seated; head and arms are missing, and none of the characteristic attributes of Isis are present; indeed, without the inscription, *ISIDI INVICTE*, the identity of the statue would be in doubt. The style and execution of the carving, and the excellence of the lettering, indicate the Ist century of our era, not later than Hadrian. *Invicta* is the vernacular form of *invictae*, an epithet which occurs so frequently on Mithraic monuments in the combination *Soli* (or *Deo*) *invicto*. This epithet is also applied to Isis on a fragment of a votive stone which was found in Cologne in 1888.

Full details of the statue are shown in Fig. 2. A peplos reaches to the feet, and over it a pallium hangs from the shoulder in many folds. One end of the pallium is tucked in against the arm under the left breast, and is lightly knotted, whilst the other end is wrapped round the right side of the pallium, which hangs down the back from the right shoulder. On the right side of the statue 9 cm. of the under garment are visible, and 3 cm. only on the left side, where the dress is divided into regular folds. The upper arms are clad in wide sleeves. The right forearm was lifted higher than the left, and on the right shoulder is a little swelling which may represent the end of a curl. The right foot is somewhat drawn back. The edge of the outer garment is much damaged, and it is impossible to ascertain if it was fringed or not. (According to Winckelmann, a pallium fastened under the breast is a constant characteristic of Greek representations of Isis, and it is nearly always fringed.)

It is highly probable that this statue was a cult image of a temple of Isis which once stood upon the site of the present church. No inscription has been found definitely mentioning such a temple, like one found near Zurich, which records the erection by a man, at his cost, of a temple to Isis for the community, his wife and daughter contributing a considerable sum to its embellishment. Quite recently, however, a small bronze *tabula ansata*, measuring 6·6 cm. by 2·5 cm., was brought to light in a private collection which had been formed largely in Cologne; this tablet is dedicated to *Isidi augu (stae)* by a priest.¹ In conjunction with earlier finds, which include a jar with *Isidi* scratched on it, this tablet is strong confirmation of the official worship of Isis in Cologne.

Egyptian antiquities purporting to have been found in the Rhineland are usually regarded with suspicion in the first instance. The patriotic eagerness shown by collectors to possess objects found locally is a temptation to dealers to falsify particulars; to this was added the desire for archaeological proof of the presence in the Rhineland of the martyrs of the Theban Legion, in whose honour many Rhenish churches are dedicated. It would, however, be strange if there were no trace of the worship of Isis in this district, since those emperors who favoured her cult were there repeatedly during their campaigns. A votive stone to Sol Serapis, set up by a woman of Cologne, speaks for itself. Of great importance also, being dated, is an altar dedicated to *I.O.M. et Serapi et Genio Loci* by a beneficiary in the year 179. In Germania Inferior the worship of Isis is confined almost entirely to Cologne, and in view of the comparative rarity of the finds, the cult cannot have been so widely spread as that of other female divinities (mother goddesses, etc.). In Germania Superior was the temple of Isis

¹ *B.J.*, CXXIX, 1924, p. 48, Fig. 1 and pp. 263-4.

near Zurich, mentioned above. Literary evidence of the worship of Egyptian gods in this province is given by Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 12, 25), who mentions, in connection with the battle of Strasburg in 357, a chief of the Alemanni, who had been initiated into the "Greek mysteries" and had renamed his son Serapio. As regards the Belgian province a statue of native limestone, measuring 1.65 m. in height, including base, was found at Metz in 1841, and is now in the museum there.¹ It is of rough workmanship, but evidently copied from a good model (see Fig. 3). Though the figure is uninscribed and headless, and without any of the usual attributes of the goddess, the dress is fastened at the breast by means of a knotted tie, and the statue has been recognised as Isis by Espérandieu and others. If this identification is correct, a temple of the goddess is indicated at this place also.

Tacitus (*Hist.*, V, 1) states that Titus united the XIIIth Legion (which he levied in Syria) with the XXIIInd and IIIrd (which he raised in Egypt), and the XXIIInd has left its records between Strasburg, Mayence and Wiesbaden, and still lower down the Rhine. The inscription of Horus Pabeci filius, who served in the Roman fleet, vouches for the presence of at least one Egyptian in Cologne. The monuments, in fact, reveal a highly coloured racial picture for the Army of Occupation, and there were "black troops" on the Rhine in Roman days.

Whether or not there was a temple of Isis on the site of the present building, the church of St. Ursula has a long history behind it, which faithfully registers the chequered fortunes of Cologne. In any case the deliberate preservation of a heathen image, such as Fig. 2, is remarkable—a striking observance of the indulgence preached by St. Augustine in regard to heathen worship: "One breaks not their idols . . . one dedicates them to Jesus Christ."

On the other hand, this may be an instance of a rather different point of view. Seemingly, mutilation of an idol before re-use for a Christian purpose was held to render it harmless. A slab with an inscription to Mercury had been carefully sawn into five sections before being used to cover *loculi* in an early Christian burial chamber which has recently been discovered under the cloisters of St. Severin's, Cologne.

¹ Michaelis, "Eine Frauenstatue pergamenischen Stils im Museum zu Metz," *Lothr. Jahrb.*, XVII, 1905, pp. 213 ff.; Espérandieu, *Recueil*, V, No. 4299.

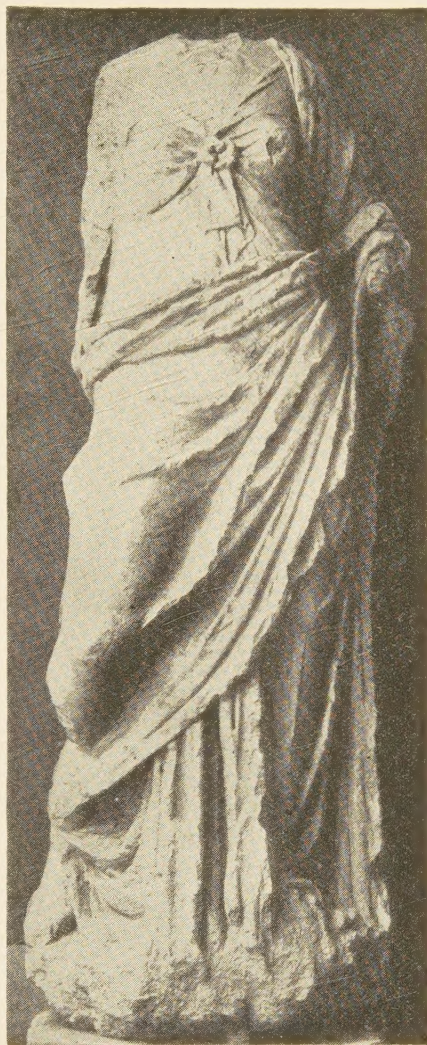


FIG. 3.—STATUE OF ISIS OF METZ
LIMESTONE. METZ MUSEUM.

The present fabric probably dates to the XIth or XIIth century, but the capitals mentioned above seem to be earlier, and may have been used in an older building. In fact, only two sides of the Isis are ornamented, whilst the third side is plain, indicating that the capital had previously stood against a wall in a niche. There is a contemporary mention of the church in the IXth century, and Bishop Cunibert is said to have celebrated Mass there in the middle of the VIIth. The earliest Christian church on the site is mentioned on an inscribed stone slab which is preserved in the south wall of the choir; the stone appears to date to the second half of the IVth century, by the purity of its style and lettering. Accepting the inscription as genuine, its historical value is not impaired by the obscurity of certain passages. In it, one Clematius states that he "built this basilica anew from its foundations . . . where the holy virgins shed their blood for the name of Christ." This martyrdom probably took place during the Diocletian persecutions, though it seems to have been forgotten and swamped by the later and more sensational legend of St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins. This legend is, however, beyond the scope of the present article, though it is interesting to remember that the church was called the Church of the Holy Virgins throughout mediaeval times, its name being changed to St. Ursula at the beginning of the XVIIth century only. In connection with the popularity of the legend and the widespread bestowal of relics, we may remember that the parishioners of St. Mary Axe were the proud possessors of "a holy relic, an axe, one of the three that the eleven thousand virgins were beheaded withal."¹

Very different in treatment from the Cologne Isis as regards design and position is the Isis panel in the cathedral at Aix, which forms one of six carved ivories which decorate the sides of the Ambo of Henry II.² This structure was given by the Emperor in 1011, but there is no record of when the panels came into the cathedral's possession, nor of when they were added to the ambo, for which they were certainly not designed in the first instance. The panels average 24 cm. by 11 cm., and are each carved out of half a tusk. The Isis panel is considered to belong to the IVth century. It is not inscribed, but the figure of Horus in the little temple is sufficient proof of the identity of the central figure. In her left hand Isis holds a shell-shaped cornucopia, which supports the little temple, and in her right hand she bears a ship. The rest of the panel is filled with smaller figures, of which the largest are a dancing Menad and Pan, both at ground-level. Perched on the roof of the temple is a cherub playing a flute; another cherub, playing a double flute, is perched above the dancing figure. Round Pan's right arm winds a serpent, and at his feet is a dog; a blade of corn flanks the panel on the spectator's right, but is not shown in the illustration (Fig. 4). Dog and serpent are, of course, attributes of Isis. The ship indicates Alexandria, and the figures refer presumably to the festival held there to celebrate the reopening of navigation in the first days of March.

L. B. ELLIS.

¹ V. C. H., *London*, I, p. 241; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, I, 4993.

² The ambo is reproduced in Paul Clemen's *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, 1916, X, 1, pl. VII, the Isis panel on p. 113, Fig. 68. In the Byzantine and early Romanesque periods the Ambo was an essential part of church furniture; during the Middle Ages it was gradually superseded in the Western Church by pulpit and lectern.



[Photo Gerhard Mertens, Aachen.]

FIG. 4.—ISIS AS PATRONESS OF SAILORS, MUSIC AND DANCING.
IVORY PANEL OF IVTH CENTURY ON AMBO AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA.

VARIOUS links have been suggested between objects found in Egypt and in Iraq, but so far none of the comparisons have been conclusive. This failure has been partly from lack of observing the exact nature of the objects, and partly from scantiness of information as to what was, and what was not, being made. The recent discovery of pre-Sargonic pottery at Kish, published by Mr. Mackay (*Report on the Excavations of the " A " Cemetery at Kish*), seems to bring to light a clear relationship of the two countries.

A characteristic decoration of this early pottery (Fig. 2) is the band of ornament on the shoulder, and another at the base of the neck of the vases ; these are linked together by a zigzag band. This ornament was put on by a narrow comb, scratching parallel lines on the pottery. The whole of it is obviously an imitation of part of the cordage in which large jars were usually carried.

Now, after the XIIth dynasty, there appeared in Egypt a new style of decorating pottery, by a narrow comb, scratching a band of parallel lines, a mode of decoration which only lasted for two or three dynasties. The most complete example of this (Fig. 1), University College, has the pattern on the shoulder and base of the neck linked together by a zigzag band (*Diospolis*, XXXIV, p. 41). The position, the nature of the design, the form of tool used, were all the same as on the vases of Kish. This design rapidly decayed, made coarser (Fig. 3) and copied more and more carelessly, as in Figs. 4 and 5. Thus it was the source of all the well-known "scrabble" pottery which belongs to the decadence after the XIIth dynasty.

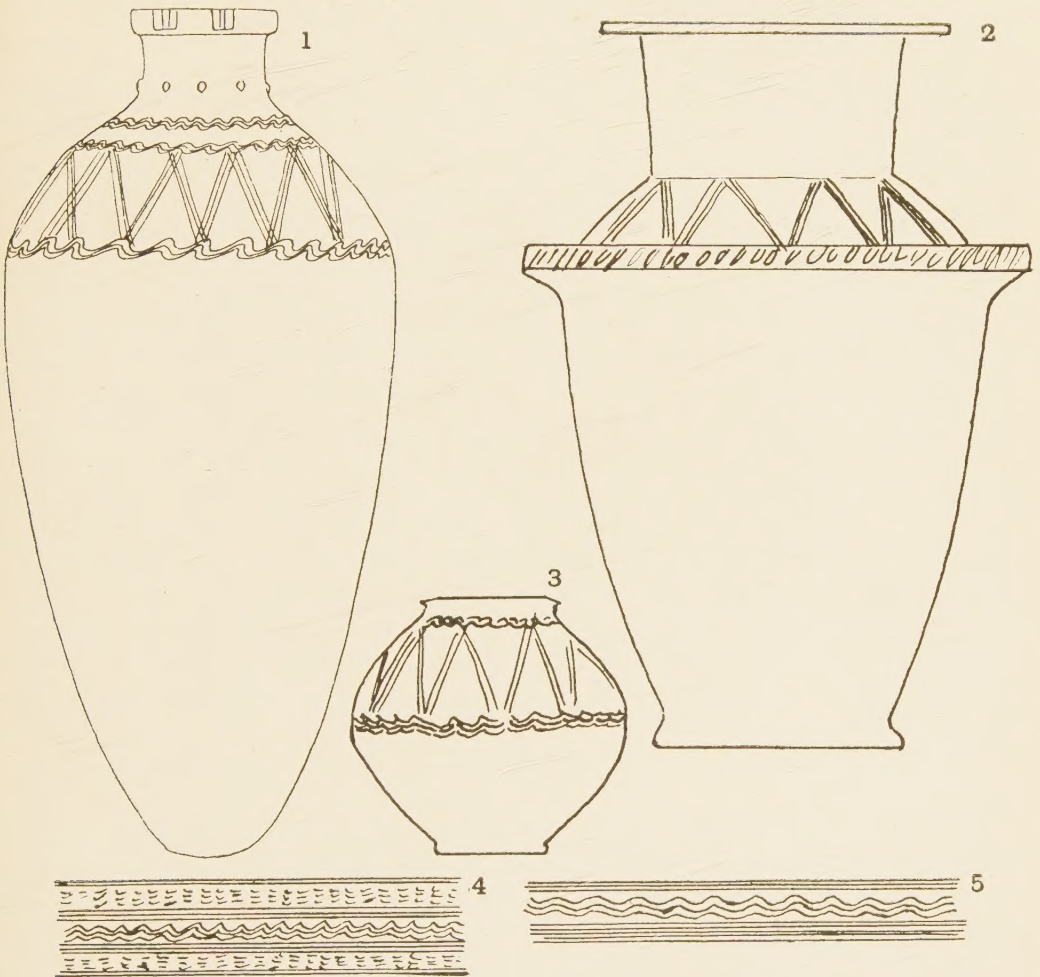
At this period the Asiatics were again beginning to press into Egypt ; in the XIIth dynasty two settlements of Amu are reported as coming into the country, and they were the beginning of an infiltration which led up to the Hyksos migration. According to the Egyptian statements the XIIth dynasty ended 3300 B.C., and this would agree with the date assigned to the pottery of Kish as being pre-Sargonic and, in general terms, "certainly before 3000 B.C."

A recent paper to the Anthropological Society of Vienna (Vol. LV), by Dr. Viktor Christian, has raised the whole question of the position of prehistoric civilisation in Egypt in relation to the history. The paper is an instance of the danger of trying to draw conclusions from books, apart from a wide first-hand knowledge of the materials and the field-work. As the results may bewilder some readers, it will not be superfluous to point out the fallacies which lie in this treatment.

The position of Mesopotamian art is brought into comparison with the work in Egypt. Unfortunately this basis is by no means all settled ; the archaeology of Iraq is only yet in its infancy, and fresh material is yearly filling up spaces which have been hitherto blank to us ; the chronology also is still largely debated, and the relations of the early dynasties unfixed. It is therefore dangerous to argue from negatives in our partial knowledge, just as it was fruitless to deny the early age of Kamares pottery because we were yet ignorant of it in Crete.

The aragonite vases found at Ur are quoted in relation to those of the Ist-IVth dynasties in Egypt. Those vases were carefully examined in London, and none of them were like the quality of Egyptian alabaster, nor could any of the forms be mistaken for those made in Egypt. A previous paper on this subject confounded vases of the Ist, IVth and Xth dynasties to form a chronological comparison.

The use of faience in the late prehistoric age is supposed to have been greater than in the Old Kingdom ; but the contrary is the case, in view of the large wall tiles and abundance of small figures in the Ist dynasty, and the polychrome tiles



over whole chambers in the IIIrd dynasty. The forms of flint knives are stated to be the same for the prehistoric age and the XIIth dynasty ; they differ widely and distinctively. The contracted burials are stated to occur during the VIth-XIth dynasties ; but in the large cemeteries of Qau and Sedment covering this period there were no contracted burials, nor do I remember any elsewhere.

Many matters stated by Dr. Christian are equally recognised in the usual view of the prehistoric age, against which there are no valid arguments in his paper. The placing of the prehistoric remains in the series of the Ist-XIIth dynasties, which is now fully known, would be impossible to anyone having a familiarity with the discoveries of recent years.

FLINDERS PETRIE.

G 4

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE EXODUS.

IN ANCIENT EGYPT for 1923 (pp. 75-7) I ventured to put forward certain criticisms of Dr. Gardiner's paper "On the Delta Residence of the Ramessides." He dealt with these in an article entitled "The Geography of the Exodus: an Answer to Professor Naville and others," which was published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. X, Pt. II, as far back as July, 1924; but owing to a change of domicile from London to Palestine I did not see this till September, 1925. On carefully examining it I have been led to believe that some further debate might tend to clarify and illuminate the issues, for it seems to me that in places Dr. Gardiner's thoughts would have been modified had his attention been drawn to the views which the Rev. J. S. Griffiths¹ and I have recently put forward. A clear instance occurs on p. 88. Dr. Gardiner appears to me to hit the nail on the head when, in strict agreement with the Pentateuch and the Israel stele (as we shall see later), he writes: "Systematic excavations are beginning to show . . . that the Ramessides still retained a firm hold on the promised land. Under these circumstances, the Israelites in fleeing from Egypt would have been really jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire." Unlike the friend to whom he submitted this objection, I think that the true answer is: "Quite so, and that is why they were forced to wander in the desert for forty years"; but Dr. Gardiner has not had this view before him, and accordingly he is unable to consider its bearing on his problems.

Before dealing with Pithom and Raamses I desire to clear away two preliminary points.

Dr. Gardiner writes: "Until there emerges evidence of a character wholly different from that already available, I submit that the details of the story ought to be regarded as no less mythical than the details of the creation as recorded in Genesis. At all events our first task must be to attempt to interpret those details on the supposition that they are legend" (p. 88). I do not know how far this is to be pressed, but I submit that the true scholarly canon is entirely different. Our first and last task must be to attempt to interpret all the details in the light of no preconception whatever, and to endeavour to follow the truth whithersoever it may lead, allowing our conclusions to arise naturally from an exhaustive and impartial study of all the relevant facts.

That is a difference in fundamental principle which must be remitted to our readers for judgment. Combined with this there is an alternative theory of the Exodus which commands Dr. Gardiner's assent—a Hyksos theory. Prof. Spiegelberg, in reviewing Mr. Griffith's book in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1924, col. 338), excused himself from considering the author's case on the ground

¹ *The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology*, 1923.

that he follows Dr. Gardiner's Hyksos theory. To me this seems extraordinary, as I cannot understand how this can dispose of the solid facts and arguments adduced by Mr. Griffiths, or exempt Egyptological science from the duty of considering them. But it shows that a critical examination of this theory is now necessary.

Accordingly the plan of this article will be to treat shortly of Pithom and Raamses, and then to set out what seems to me the true view of the Exodus, and lastly to examine the Hyksos theory. This order has been adopted to avoid repetition, for many of the facts that will come before us in the first two divisions will be material to the discussion in the third.

PITHOM AND RAAMESSES.

As to *Pithom*.—In view of the Hyksos theory it becomes necessary to consider the date. I do not understand Dr. Gardiner to hold that Pithom was built before the reign of Ramses II (1300–1234 B.C., Petrie; 1292–1225 B.C., Breasted). The reign of Aahmes, under whom the Hyksos were expelled, lasted from 1587 to 1562 B.C. according to Petrie, or 1580 to 1557 B.C. according to Breasted. In other words, Pithom was built more than two and a-half centuries after the Hyksos period.

As to the site, I can do no better than quote Dr. Gardiner's concluding remarks: "Mr. Wiener rightly objects to my view that, according to Sir Flinders Petrie, Tell-er-Retâbah shows no signs of a Roman occupation, and therefore cannot be Heroonpolis. This is, of course, an important argument on the side of Prof. Naville. There seems, in fact, to be a conflict of evidence, but I still lean to my preference for Retâbah. Possibly I have misjudged in weighing the evidence, and Prof. Naville may be right after all" (p. 96). The bearing of this on our enquiry may be stated as follows: In the present state of research there is no ground whatever for attacking the Biblical narrative on the basis of any geographical question connected with Pithom.¹

As to *Raamses*.—With regard to the date the same remarks fall to be made as in the case of Pithom.

With regard to the site it is indisputable that Pap. Anastasi V speaks of "the Courts of the Royal Palace," and shows that this royal palace was so situated that persons going thence to a point beyond the Egyptian frontier would pass through or near Maskhûtah in some cases. Further, it was not more than one stage from Maskhûtah. Here Dr. Gardiner writes: "The fact that this passage was not included by me in my treatise on the towns of Ramesses shows that I

¹ It is, however, perhaps right that I should say a few words on another point out of courtesy to Dr. Gardiner. He complains (*Journal*, X, p. 95) that his argument from the Antonine Itinerary (*Journal*, V, p. 269) has been neglected. I worked over the material as the result of his article, but reached the conclusion that there are too many unknown quantities for its data to be of any value in the present state of our knowledge. "Unhappily neither of the two places, Thou and Serapiu, with which Hero is there placed in direct relation, has as yet been certainly identified" (*loc. cit.*). Thus Dr. Gardiner. Contrast with this Prof. Naville's clear statements (*Journal*, X, pp. 34 ff.), from which I quote only a few words: "We know the Egyptian name of Tell el-Maskhûtah, Pithom, but we know also the Greek and Latin names Eropolis . . . and Erocastra. These two names were found on a stone in a wall at the side of the doorway. It is clearly the name of the place reached and to which the doorway gave access" (p. 36).

never thought of identifying 'the Courts of the Royal Palace' with the residence-city of Pi-Ra'messe" (p. 90). That very emphatically confirms the view that the Delta included a second royal palace in addition to the Pelusiac residence. And here I must admit that Dr. Gardiner has convicted me of a slight inaccuracy. I spoke of its being "at the distance of only one stage from Maskhûtah." He very properly rejoins that "an official who succeeded only in getting from Retâbah to the outskirts of Maskhûtah in a day, or even half a day, would have but little chance of catching a couple of runaway slaves, as the distance is only a short nine miles!" That is true of an official though not of the Israelites of the Exodus, encumbered as they were with their families, animals and impedimenta. But I think that the official's pace is amply explained by the undisputed facts. He had to enquire as to the route taken by the slaves. He was not dispatched on his journey till the evening. Unless he could arrive at Maskhûtah on the same day in time to make the necessary enquiries he could effect nothing until the next morning. Hence no argument against the location of the palace at Retâbah can be based on the shortness of the distance, while, as Dr. Gardiner points out, Heliopolis and Memphis are too far off to suit the requirements of the document. His further objections deal with other parts of the document and do not touch the portions of it which are clear. In particular he has to rely on a "partly destroyed" numeral in "a schoolboy's exercise which has some very patent and indisputable corruptions" to discredit the chronology. I can only say this: Courts of law have accumulated the experience of many centuries in the interpretation of doubtful documents in innumerable cases in which important questions touching every variety of human relationship have been at stake. As the result of that experience no court would reject the clear and indisputable portions of an ancient document on reasoning based on a lacuna in another portion of that document, which is certainly not clear and probably not indisputable. If, therefore, we are to judge the question as any similar question would be judged in a matter in which the life or liberty of any one of us was at stake, we must admit that there was a royal palace in or near the Wâdî Tûmilât.

Egyptology apparently provides no evidence as to the name of this place. Now here, again, the method of the courts would differ from that of Dr. Gardiner. They would accept the uncontradicted evidence of the Hebrew narrative, which has been found to be trustworthy as to the existence and location of the palace, and hold that in Hebrew it was, at any rate, sometimes known as Raamses. There is nothing whatever to set against this. If the silence of Egyptology be held to be evidence that the place was not called Raamses, it must be held to be evidence that the place had no name at all—for Egyptology indicates no name whatever.¹

At this point I find myself in a plight which will appeal to Dr. Gardiner's sense of humour. I had quoted the best translation available of an inscription on a piece of a door-jamb. Dr. Gardiner throws doubt on what seems to me to

¹ The papyrus does not seem to me to favour the view that the Migdol to which it refers is at Tell el-Her. If there had been time for the slaves to get there and for news of this to reach Maskhûtah by the time our informant enquired, a very considerable period must have elapsed between the flight of the two servants and the commencement of the pursuit. Nor is it clear why the news of what had happened at the north wall of the Migdol should come from the desert. Migdol in Hebrew means tower. Is it not possible that there was a second Migdol in or near the desert within easy reach of Maskhûtah?

be its natural interpretation. His reputation is deservedly so great that I understand that no other English Egyptologist would venture in the circumstances to translate and explain the two columns of the inscription. It is therefore impossible to judge whether there is anything in them that throws any light on any aspect of our problems. And apparently no other English scholar will be able to make any further use of them unless Dr. Gardiner will oblige us with a rendering. In the circumstances, is it unreasonable to express the hope that he may soon add an adequate exposition of the inscription to the debt which Bible students already owe to his work?

This inscription appears also to provide evidence that foreigners and Egyptians resided side by side in Retâbah in the Wâdî Tûmilât.

And this brings us to Dr. Gardiner's point on Biblical criticism (*Journal*, X, p. 89; V, p. 265). "Modern critics have pointed out that two irreconcilable views underlie the earlier chapters of Exodus: in some places it is assumed, as throughout Genesis, that the Israelites were living apart in the land of Goshen; elsewhere, on the other hand, it is unmistakably implied that they were dwelling in the midst of the Egyptians" (V, p. 265). In a footnote he added: "Driver represents the view of the Israelites' confinement to Goshen as belonging only to J, while E pictures them as living side by side with the Egyptians." Driver's views did not seem to me worthy of notice because they were ably answered by Dr. Gardiner himself in the very next sentence in a manner that thoroughly satisfied me. "But, *e.g.* XII, p. 23, presumes the standpoint attributed to E, but nevertheless is assigned to J." Precisely: and here, as always, the documentary theory breaks down when tested. For the rest I have dealt with the critical contention on this point at length on pp. 57-60 of my *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* (1910), and the documentary theorists have failed to make any reply. In fact, if my memory serves me, Prof. König, in reviewing the book, stated that he agreed with me in this matter; but I am separated from my papers and cannot verify the reference.

THE ISRAEL STELE AND THE EXODUS.

So far we have seen that Pithom and Raamses were built in the reign of Ramses II at least two and a-half centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, and that Egyptology proves that there was a royal residence situated in the position assigned by the Pentateuch to Raamses. We now come to the determining factor in the whole case. There are many minor considerations which may help to confirm our judgment one way or the other in regard to the historical character of the story of the Exodus; but there is only one decisive, dominating issue—the relation of the event recorded on the Israel stele to the narrative of the Pentateuch. Here it is a case of win or lose, for the historical character of the narrative on the one side, and for the attack of destructive criticism on the other.

"And it came to pass in the course of those many days that the king of Egypt died" (Exod. ii, 23). This would quite naturally refer to the death of Ramses II, who reigned for sixty-six or sixty-seven years, and, if so, the subsequent drama is enacted under his immediate successor, Menephtah. We are now more than three centuries from the date of the expulsion of the Hyksos.

The Israel stele is dated in the fifth year of Meneptah. Its material passage, according to Breasted,¹ is as follows :—

“ Israel is desolated, his seed is not ;
Palestine has become a widow for Egypt,
All lands are united, they are pacified.
Every one that is turbulent is bound by King Meneptah.”

In view of the Hyksos theory I quote the following from Dr. Hall : “ The word ‘ Israil ’ in the stele cannot be anything else than Israel . . . and it is not a place-name but a folk-name, being ‘ determined ’ by the sign of ‘ people ’ not that of ‘ town.’ ”²

Dr. Hall does not suggest—and indeed it cannot be suggested, that the Hyksos are meant. But the expression is a perfectly correct way of referring to the Israel of the wanderings. According to Breasted the reference “ is made up of conventional phrases, applied also to other peoples.” Of the parallels he quotes, the first is sufficient for our purposes. “ Those who reached my border are desolated, their seed is not.” *That is used of invaders*, and it is word for word the same as our reference to the people of Israel.³

Hence the inscription would be satisfied by an unsuccessful invasion by the Israel of the wanderings. The sentence as to Palestine means that it had no protection against Egypt, *i.e.* is a land of Egyptian vassals. King Meneptah had established an Egyptian peace, partly as the result of defeating Israel, which secured Palestine from the danger this people had threatened. Writing in 1916, I inferred from the language used that the Pharaoh had not been present.⁴ Subsequently I discovered that I had been anticipated by Prof. Naville.⁵

In the Pentateuch we have two accounts of a defeat that precisely agrees with the data of this inscription. In Deut. i, 19–46, we read of an attempt by Israel to invade Canaan from the south.

Leaving Horeb, the Israelites passed through the desert to the hill-country of the Amorites and reached Kadesh-barnea. Moses wished to attack, but the people suggested that spies should first be sent. On their return they made a report which was fatal to the *morale* of the people. Thereupon the command was given to turn and go by the way to the Red Sea, but the Israelites veered round and insisted on attacking—this time against the will of Moses.

“ And the Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and beat you down in Seir, even unto Hormah (i, 44).

“ Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea, as the Lord spake unto me : and we compassed Mount Seir many days (ii, 1).

“ And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years ” (ii, 14).

That constitutes a perfect parallel to the Meneptah stele. Thirty-eight years before a date in the fortieth year the Israelites left Kadesh for good, because they had attempted to invade Canaan, and had met with an overwhelming defeat

¹ *Ancient Records*, III, p. 264.

² *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1st ed. (1913), p. 404.

³ *Ancient Records*, III, p. 257 f.

⁴ “ The Date of the Exodus,” *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1916, or separately, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 6, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.

⁵ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, II (1915), pp. 195–201.

at the hands of Meneptah's vassals. The historical character of the narrative cannot be questioned, for nations do not claim defeats they have never experienced. Our generation, at any rate, has had intensive experience of that. And here we have a people claiming that on attempting to invade a country in which they subsequently ruled, they were so crushingly worsted that they could attempt nothing more for thirty-eight years. If the disaster was not historical, no religious writer at any date could have hoped to commend his teachings to his people by enforcing them with an (invented) narrative of an overwhelming disaster, which they had never experienced. The date exactly fits Meneptah's inscription, for on any natural reading of the events of Exodus the year here indicated would fall within the first four years of his reign. The same applies to the agents of the defeat, for the Palestinians were Pharaoh's vassals.¹ As Dr. Gardiner says, "The Ramessides still retained a firm hold on the promised land." Nor is there any possibility that this refers to some other defeat, for each of the narratives clearly records a disaster that gave prolonged security to Palestine from the people of Israel. The defeat recorded on the stele could have left the Israelites in no case to attempt any other serious military undertaking for some years to come: the defeat of Deuteronomy crippled their military enterprise for thirty-eight years. "The Israelites in fleeing from Egypt had merely jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire." Or we may put the matter in the language used after the defeat by older critics of Moses, who fully agreed on this point with Dr. Gardiner. "Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, but thou must needs make thyself also a prince over us? Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey, nor given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?" (Num. xvi, 13 f.).

I have begun with Deuteronomy because careful study has satisfied me that the text of Numbers, while narrating the same events, has suffered in transmission. To avoid overloading this article, this aspect of the matter is not discussed, but anybody who is interested will find it fully considered in the literature given in the footnote of this section, to which I would earnestly invite Dr. Gardiner's attention.

Thus we see that the Hebrew and Egyptian records are in complete harmony, and each is attested by evidence which cannot be doubted. On the one hand we have a people declaring that it served in slavery and was compelled to build specified cities in the territory of another people, and that after its escape it attempted to invade the country it subsequently occupied, but was so disastrously defeated that it had to wander in a wilderness for some thirty-eight years. Then with restored *morale*, and the replacement of its heavy losses in the field by a new generation of fighting men, it was able to attempt a fresh invasion by an easier line, when the historical situation appeared to offer a favourable opportunity. Those are events the historical character of which is guaranteed by the psychological impossibility of supposing that any nation would gratuitously invent narratives so little to its credit. On the other hand, the Egyptian record is composed of the testimony of excavations and contemporary inscriptions which cannot be doubted.

¹ Cp. Holzinger's remarks in reviewing my "The Date of the Exodus," "Darüber dass Nu. XIV, 40, nicht den Pharao als Gegner nennt wird sich reden lassen—warum soll ein solcher sich nicht den Sieg eines Vasallen gutschreiben?" *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1918, col. 76.

Those are the main outlines: the details add corroborative evidence. The site of the Egyptian capital; the attitude of the Hittites, justifying the fears expressed in Exod. i, 10; the known facts as to Pithom and Raamses¹; the length of the reign of the Pharaoh of the oppression; the constant reference to Pharaoh without the name, in accordance with contemporary Egyptian usage; the dating of the foundation of Hebron by the Tanis era (Num. xiii, 22), so natural in a writer fresh from Egypt, and so improbable in a Palestinian; the numerous Egyptian touches—all point in the same direction. The chronology is a close fit. The Meneptah stele is dated in April of the king's fifth year. Israel's defeat at Hormah was in the third year of the wanderings, and as the spies went at the time of the first ripe grapes (Num. xiii, 20), *i.e.* the end of July or the beginning of August, the battle probably falls in September. Thus the Exodus could only have taken place in the first or second year of the reign, for at least three years elapsed from then to the date of the stele in the fifth year, *i.e.* a date when Meneptah had completed four, but not five, years of his rule. As the plagues ran from the Red Nile, in May or June, to the Exodus at the end of March or the beginning of April, they require ten months; and the events between the death of Ramses and the beginning of the plagues could not be compressed into two months. Hence Meneptah must have been over a year on the throne at the date of the Exodus, and this leaves his second year as the only one possible.²

And now for the recent discovery at Beisân to which Dr. Gardiner alludes.³ He quotes a sentence from Dr. Fisher. I would repeat that sentence with the addition of a few words: "This group of dated records found *in situ* is sufficient proof that the town had remained in Egyptian hands practically from 1313 to 1167 B.C. Towards the close of this period Egyptian domination in Palestine was again on the wane."⁴ It is precisely to the close of this period, when Egyptian domination was on the wane, that the Israelite invasion belongs. The date 1167 B.C. is that given by Breasted for the death of Ramses III, but the chronology is not quite certain. According to Sir Flinders Petrie, 1194 B.C. was the date of the last Egyptian campaign in Palestine for two and a-half centuries.⁵ His date for Meneptah's accession is 1234 B.C., so that forty years from that king's second year (1233 or 1232 B.C.) would clear this campaign and bring us to a date when conditions were suitable for the Israelite invasion. Ramses III acceded in 1202 B.C. In the spring of his eleventh year he had to face an invasion of western enemies, which may reasonably be supposed to have called for the concentration of most of his available forces in Egypt.⁶

¹ Prof. Kyle, after examining Maskhûtah, personally wrote as follows: "The bricks were laid in mortar, contrary to the usual Egyptian method of brick-work; the lower courses were filled with good clean straw, those of the middle courses were made with stubble mixed with weeds and all pulled up by the roots, while the bricks of the upper courses were made of Nile mud without the admixture of any binding material whatever" (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1917, p. 10); *c.p.* Exod. i, 14. The use of bricks of any one of these three kinds would not have been singular, but their combination in this way is remarkable.

² A further corroboration may be mentioned: in papyrus, Anastasi VI tells of the passing of Edomite Bedouin into the Wâdî Tûmilât. At that time the Israelites must already have left, otherwise there could not have been room for immigration into this small area (*see* Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, 2nd ed., p. 30).

³ *Journal*, X, p. 88.

⁴ *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), December, 1923, p. 236.

⁵ *Egypt and Israel*, 2nd ed. (1923), p. 53.

⁶ *History of Egypt*, III, 2nd ed. (1918), p. 153.

Three years previously a league of northern tribes had "encamped in one place in the midst of the land of Amor; they swept away the inhabitants, but fire and the grave were before them."¹ Thus the Amorites had been tremendously weakened and the Egyptians were otherwise engaged when Israel's invasion occurred.

According to Prof. Breasted, Menepthah acceded in 1225 B.C., so that his second year would be 1224 or 1223 B.C., and Ramses III reigned from 1198–1167 B.C. His interpretation of the events differs from that of Sir Flinders Petrie, but is substantially as favourable to our view. He thinks that immediately after the invasion of the westerners in the king's eleventh year there was a fresh Syrian campaign. "Whether as of old in the days of Hittite aggression the king of Amor had made common cause with the invader we cannot now discern; but following closely upon the last Libyan campaign, Ramses found it necessary to appear in Amor with his army. The limits and the cause of the campaign are but obscurely hinted at in the meagre records now surviving. It was the last hostile passage between the Pharaoh and the Hittites; both empires were swiftly declining to their fall."² It is after that campaign and in the beginning of the period of the decline that we naturally place the Israelite invasion of Canaan.

There is also further evidence from another quarter, which has been published since the appearance of Dr. Gardiner's article, and proves the correctness of the view just stated. In Vol. I of his *Geschichte des Israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes* (1924), Prof. E. Sellin states (p. 97) that both he and Watzinger have independently reached the conclusion that their former results stand in need of correction and that the date of the capture of Jericho by Joshua should in the light of the excavation be placed at *circa* 1200 B.C. This accords closely with the date to be deduced from Egyptian chronology on the basis of the foregoing view of the Exodus.

Are there any Biblical facts to set against this? Three passages call for notice. In Judges xi, 26, we read: "While Israel dwelt in Heshbon, . . . *three hundred years*," but the date is generally regarded by modern editors as an interpolation in Jephthah's speech. In fact the subsequent words cannot mean, "Wherefore did you not recover them within that time?" The Hebrew can only mean, "*And why did ye not recover them at that time*," which shows the date not to be an original part of the sentence. Accordingly we should translate: "When Israel *settled* in Heshbon," and attach the phrase to what precedes, omitting the words "three hundred years." The question will then be: "And now art thou anything better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever fight against them when Israel settled in Heshbon? etc. And why did ye not recover them at that time?"

In I Kings vi, 1, 480 years after the Exodus is given as the date of the Temple, but this verse is also generally regarded as not original.

The third passage, Gen. xv, 13–16, is more interesting. "13. And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; 14. And also that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance. . . . 16. And in the fourth generation they shall come hither again."

¹ *History of Egypt*, p. 150.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

That is not self-consistent, for a generation was not regarded as 100 years (Gen. xvii, 17), and even so the period from the entry into Egypt to the invasion was 470 years.

[As the oppression of the Israelites would begin at the expulsion of their kindred Hyksos, 1585 B.C., from that until the Exodus in 1232 B.C. would be 353 years, so that the nearest century would be 400 years. Perhaps the text of "fourth generation" is a corruption of "fourteenth," as that would fit with generations of 25 years during the oppression; such is probably the Jewish average, as in the royal family a generation was 22 years.—F. P.]

Such is the case as to the Exodus to which I venture to invite Dr. Gardiner's attention. If he is of opinion that it is worthy of serious consideration I would ask him to look up the writings in which it is elaborated.¹

He will there find some details considered of which I have not thought it necessary to treat here. It is submitted that if this case stands it disposes of the view that the narrative is legendary, for it is contrary to the very nature of a legend that it should meet the exacting archaeological and chronological tests of such an investigation as this.

THE HYKSOS THEORY.

It now remains to examine the Hyksos theory. Dr. Gardiner writes: "That Israel was in Egypt, under one form or another, no historian could possibly doubt; a legend of such tenacity representing the early fortunes of a people under so unfavourable an aspect could not have arisen save as a reflection, however much distorted, of real occurrences. But the Hyksos invasion and the subsequent expulsion of the Hyksos afford quite sufficient basis for the origination of the legend. Nor would it make the slightest difference to this assertion should it be proved that the Hyksos were racially quite unrelated to the Israelites, for nations inherit with all possible ease the traditions of the lands which in course of time they come to occupy."

I pause there for a moment because I think that many of Dr. Gardiner's readers may not realise that in fact he believes in *two* Exodi. His case is that Israel was in Egypt and remembered nothing of its own Exodus, but only the expulsion of the Hyksos in a distorted form.

He then continues: "Would it not, indeed, be strange if the whole episode of the Hyksos had left no trace in Hebrew legend? When, further, it is taken into consideration that the date of Joseph, according to any reasonable computation, falls within the Hyksos period, surely little doubt can be entertained but that the fortunes of the Shepherd kings are somehow imaged in the Exodus story." I note with pleasure that in Dr. Gardiner's opinion the Pentateuchal narrative is so far trustworthy that we can make chronological computations from it. These computations can only relate to an actual event affecting a real person called Joseph, since a legend can have no date.

¹ J. S. Griffiths, *Exodus in the Light of Archaeology*; H. M. Wiener, "Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism," pp. 114-38, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1916; or the reprint, "The Date of the Exodus," October, 1917; October, 1918; April and October, 1919; July, 1920 (reply to Prof. Barton). These articles are not available in Jerusalem, and I have not been able to refer to them. It is much to be desired that some munificent benefactor should present the back volumes of *Bibliotheca Sacra* to the American School of Oriental Research here.

Dr. Gardiner then proceeds: "But the mention of the town of Raamses-Ramses introduces an ingredient of later date, and it is not impossible that, as the quotations from Manetho and Chaeremon in Josephus suggest, some further events at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty may have become blended with the memory of the Hyksos."¹ What are those events? To whom did they happen? How did Israel come to blend them with the memory of other events which had happened not to it, but to the Hyksos, some two and a-half or three centuries earlier? Manetho and Chaeremon afford no parallel, for they are no part of the national record of Israel; whereas what is here supposed is that the memory of certain unhappy events which had not happened to the people at all were made part of its national consciousness. Dr. Gardiner refers to Dr. H. R. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1st ed., pp. 408-9, as the source of his views. Dr. Hall's statement is characterised by the omission to produce a single particle of evidence. Dr. Burney's² criticisms of it seem to have been overlooked by Dr. Gardiner. They are valid as far as they go, and should be studied, but they must now be supplemented.

In testing this theory we have to operate with four different elements:—

- (A) The expulsion of the Hyksos.
- (B) The Exodus of Israel.
- (C) The later elements.
- (D) The actual Biblical narrative.

(A) If the expulsion of the Hyksos is reflected in our Biblical narrative, we should expect to find points of contact between the two. And most certainly the two accounts could not be of such a nature as to be mutually exclusive. Now what are the facts? The Hyksos rulers were kings in Egypt. "The later Hyksos seem to have become entirely Egyptianised. They adopted the full Pharaonic dignity, and, as good Egyptian kings, built Egyptian temples and venerated Egyptian gods" (Hall, p. 219). The final revolt led to their expulsion after a long era which, in Dr. Hall's opinion, lasted about forty-five years, on and off. Several Egyptian Pharaohs died or were killed during its course, and the fortunes of the war fluctuated considerably. At last "The Hyksos king . . . was driven north and east to Tanis and the great entrenched camp at Avaris . . . whither the young king followed him in hot pursuit" (pp. 225 ff.). It would appear that "the siege of Avaris . . . must have been long protracted."³

A contemporary who was present writes: "Then they proceeded to spoil Avaris; and I brought away spoil thence: one man; three women; a total of four heads. And His Majesty gave them to me for slaves."⁴ This, however, was not the end of the Hyksos: "Amosis himself pursued them to a fastness of theirs at Sharūhen, in Southern Palestine, and later to the coastland of Zahi or Phoenicia further north."⁵

In all this there is not a single point of contact with the Pentateuch. The Hebrew never suggests that the people of whom it tells were of any account in Egypt, with the single exception of Joseph, who rose to a high ministerial position

¹ *Journal*, X, pp. 87 ff.

² *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, pp. 91-4.

³ Battiscombe Gunn and Alan H. Gardiner, "The Expulsion of the Hyksos," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, V, p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

more than four centuries before the Exodus. There is no trace of kings or pharaonic dignity or building of Egyptian temples; there are no battles, no sieges; there is but one change in the occupation of the Egyptian throne, no capture of Avaris or taking of Israelite captives, no pursuit to Palestine or Phoenicia. These things are all outside the ken of the Pentateuch; and, what is more, they belong to a set of circumstances so totally different that their very possibility is excluded. How could such events be fitted into the story of a people doing forced labour for the Egyptians and suffering from the Egyptian attempts to slay its male children? How can they be brought into the same historical picture as the long religious debate with the Pharaoh, and the plagues? The only point of contact is that the Hyksos left Egypt and so did the Israelites, but as Dr. Gardiner believes that there was an Israelite Exodus, it is impossible to suggest that the people had forgotten that they themselves had been in Egypt, and only believed that they had succeeded with great difficulty in leaving it because the Hyksos had been expelled from it against their will.

Moreover, the explanation is not explanatory. "A legend of such tenacity representing the early fortunes of a people under so unfavourable an aspect could not have arisen save as a reflexion . . . of real occurrences." Precisely: but nothing whatever of the unfavourable aspect is to be found in the story of the Hyksos. Their story, if not always a story of success, is at least a glorious one of the game of kings. The Pentateuchal narrative, on the other hand, is that of the *corvée* of common people. And the very points that most need the explanation of "real occurrences" find neither prototype nor possible source in the fortunes of the Hyksos.

(B) The Exodus of Israel according to Dr. Hall: "The Hebrews . . . entered the land of Goshen during the period of Hyksos domination, and left the country at the time of the expulsion of their patrons, or shortly afterwards" (p. 409, *note*). They wandered in desert regions bordering on Canaan for about two centuries. They are then identified with the Khabiru who overran Canaan about 1390–1360 B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. 407 ff.).¹

It is useless to compare this with the Biblical narrative, for Dr. Hall sits far too loosely to any statement in the Biblical texts that does not suit his convenience for them to produce any effect on his mind.² But there are archaeological facts. The date given by excavation for the Israelite conquest of Jericho is fatal to the whole scheme. So is the Israel stele. If Israel had been domiciled in Palestine for a century and a-half in the days of Meneptah, we should have had a mention of the place or places captured, not a reference couched in terms appropriate to a body of invaders.

Another test may be applied. We can ask why the Hebrews left. If they had gone with their patrons to share their further fortunes the matter would have been intelligible: but this was clearly not the case. Now why should people who had been domiciled for centuries in fertile territory elect to leave it and wander

¹ There is not a particle of evidence that the word Khabiru is a transliteration from any Semitic language or that the people so designated were Semites at all. Philologists, assuming what they wished to prove, have begun by taking it for granted that the cuneiform characters were a transliteration from the Hebrew; they have then taken one out of several possible equivalents in Hebrew consonants and claimed that the word stands for Hebrews. They have yet to begin to forge the first link in their chain of proof.

² I must, however, not be taken as identifying Dr. Gardiner absolutely with Dr. Hall in this respect.

in a desert for a couple of centuries? In the Pentateuch the matter is intelligible, for the oppression had become intolerable: but that is the very element that is assigned by Drs. Gardiner and Hall to a later date. How, then, explain the course of action of their Israel? It was neither oppressed nor expelled by force, and if it acted as they hold, it jumped into the fire quite gratuitously, not out of the frying-pan, but out of a paradise.

(C) The later elements. Of the origination and adoption of these no explanation at all can be offered. To suggest that some centuries after Israel had left Egypt, some Israelite writer took over the story of an oppression which happened (if at all) to some other people, and that his narrative was then accepted as historical, is to proclaim the bankruptcy of this method of dealing with history. No historian would state that his people had built two specified cities by forced labour in enemy territory unless such was really the fact. Nor would any people accept the word of a historian who acted so incredibly.

Lastly we come to (D) the Biblical narrative. And here I would ask, what sort of scientific justification can be put forward for suggesting that any narrative in the world was ever compounded in the way claimed? Dr. Gardiner holds that it reflects events that it certainly does not reflect, that it does not record the fortunes of the people whose fortunes it professes to record, that it incorporates late extraneous matter of a discreditable sort which formed no part of the national experience, and that these and other elements, which he and Dr. Hall do not discuss, were somehow amalgamated into a story which in the resulting form contained not a single element of truth. Such a theory requires us to suppose that this strange compilation was accepted unquestioningly, unanimously, enthusiastically, by the people it dishonoured, as the authentic record of its past, although it had never experienced any one of the episodes related, and that it was held in such reverence that it came to be regarded as the word of God.

Such hypotheses as these appear to me to be woven of such stuff as dreams are made of, but apparently they are put forward in all seriousness by responsible scholars. On what known canon of the investigation of evidence do they base their researches?

HAROLD M. WIENER.

EGYPTIAN SEALINGS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ACADEMICIAN
N. P. LIKHATSCHEW.

THE celebrated collection of N. P. Likhatschew, containing a great number of stamps and seals of the most different cultures, comprises also a few, but valuable, ancient sealings of various periods of Egyptian history. They were all bought. On account of the interest they have, I undertake to edit them, although not all the details of their inscriptions are clear to me. The specialists who dispose of richer materials in this sphere of Egyptology will correct my reading.

No. 1.—A small fragment of a sealing with portions of two impressions of a cylinder; it is of a dark grey clay. The surface on which the stamp was pressed is polished. The height is 0·6 inch, the breadth 1·1 inch. The hieroglyphs of the fragmentary inscription can be connected in the following manner:—



Here we have evidently a fragment of a clay stopper³; a great number of such were found by the Germans during the excavations of the temple of the king Ra-en-user.⁴ Perhaps the fragment of the collection of Likhatschew will offer some interest for the edition of these stamps which is being prepared by the Berlin Museum.⁵

¹ On the seal-stamp the hieroglyph  of the cartouche is smaller than the other hieroglyphs. Also on the cylinder of the epoch of Sahu-ra the hieroglyphs of the cartouche *njsw.t bjtj* are smaller than the hieroglyphs of the cartouche of Hor. See Möller, *Ä. Z.*, 1907, p. 129.

² Cf.  of the inscription of Ra-en-user, Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, I, p. 128, No. XIII.

³ The manner in which the jars were sealed; see Flinders Petrie, *Medum*, p. 24, Pl. XIII.

⁴ L. Borchardt, *D. Grabdenkmal d. Königs Ne-user-Re*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 132, 138.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59. The untimely death of G. Möller detained this edition.

No. 4.—Impression of a bead in dark grey clay. The length is 1·0 inch, the breadth 0·35 inch. The cartouche of the throne-name of Ramses II.



The hieroglyphs are very negligently cut. This carelessness is obvious, especially in comparison with the fine hieroglyphs of No. 3.

No. 5.—Impress of a finger ring on dark grey clay. The length is 1·0 inch, the breadth 1·1 inch. The surface, on which the ring was pressed, is smooth. The traces of a rather thick cord are seen on the fracture. The two impressions are of the cartouche of Ramses VI. On this ring two variations of the throne-name *Maat·neb·ra*, *Mery·amen* of King Ramses VI¹ are united, forming a pretty antithetic group. Very interesting is the choice of the name *Maat·neb·ra* by the king of the XXth dynasty. It indicates the cult of Amenhotpe III, existing already in that epoch. The left figure should face right.



No. 6.—Impress of a finger ring on red clay. On the fracture there are traces of the cord. The length is 1·3 inch, the breadth 0·8 inch. On the clay are two impressions reading



We have here, evidently, a stamp of the seal of the temple of the god of Athribis—Hor-Khent-khetet.² The hieroglyphs  could be interpreted as “feast.” In that case the hieroglyphs   include the name of a feast.³ As a conjecture one could compare the *w3k* to the known feast   . If the inscription of our seal could be really interpreted by this means, namely, Hor-Khent-khetet, the feast *w3k*, so we would have the stamp of the temple of Athribis, by which the room with the attributes of the cult of the above-mentioned feast was sealed.⁵ The temple of Athribis was one of the most renowned temples of Egypt. Yet in the Ist century B.C. we read about it in one inscription: τὸ ἐν Ἀθρίβει τοῦ Ἀρκεντεχθαί (scil. ἱερόν) τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ λόγιμον ἀρχ[α]ιώτατον τε κα[ὶ] ἐνδοξότατον, κ.τ.λ.⁶ But there are not many inscriptions

¹ See Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Pl. XXXIX, D. k. Unfortunately the requisite volume of H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois*, is not to be had in Leningrad.

² About this god see the excellent article of W. Spiegelberg, “Zur Geschichte des Tempels des Harkhentehtai zu Athribis,” *Rec. de Trav.*, XXIX, pp. 53–4. See also F. v. Bissing, *Ä.Z.*, XL, p. 144, and H. Madsen, *Ä.Z.*, XLI, p. 115.

³ I think that in *Hr-knt-k-w3k* one cannot see a proper name.

⁴ The transition of *g* in *k* is certainly possible. But it is improbable that the traditional name of the feast on the temple's seal would be transcribed by such an unusual manner.

⁵ About the seals of the temples, see O. v. Lemm, *D. Ritualbuch des Ammon-dienstes*, p. 25 f.

⁶ See W. Spiegelberg, “D. Demotischen Inschriften” (*Catal. génér.*), p. 22.

about it and about its god. Therefore our stamp regarding this temple is not devoid of interest. The time of its rise can be dated, as I think, to the epoch of the New Kingdom.¹

No. 7.—Impress of a seal on black clay. On the back are the traces of the cord and of the surface of papyrus. The length is 0·95 inch, the breadth 0·85 inch. The inscription contains two titles—priest of Sokhmet and *ιερογραμματεὺς* of Neit—with the cartouche of King Aahmes-si-Neit. It is to be supposed that the inscription is entirely conserved, and therefore the cartouche of Aahmes-si-Neit will scarcely be part of a name, but serves to date the seal. The accumulation of the priesthood of Neit and of Sokhmet in one is curious. [There might be space for a sign such as *mer* beyond the cartouche, thus giving a name.—F. P.]



CLAY SEALINGS.

1. RAENUSER.
2. AMENEMHAT III.
3. THE GOD ATEN.
4. RAMESES II.
5. RAMESES VI.
6. ATHRIBIS TEMPLE.
7. AAHMES-SI-NEIT.

¹ There is in the Hermitage Collection a beautiful statuette of the time of the Middle Kingdom ; on its base is carved the offering formula, mentioning the god Hor-Khent-khetet.

JOURNALS.

Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology. Liverpool. Vol. XIII, 1, 2.

YEIVIN, S.—*The Mond Excavations at Luxor*.—The work undertaken by Mr. Mond last season was the clearing of the tomb of Rames, the vezier of Amenhetep III and IV. For this purpose it was necessary to have a large dumping ground, and an area behind the Ramesseum was cleared for the purpose. The number of tomb-shafts found occupied the whole season, and still some remain. These tombs are from the XIth dynasty onward. Almost all the shafts and galleries had been reused, so the dating of objects can only be by their nature. No important objects were found. The greater part of the tomb of Rames was cleared, noting its reuse at various times. In one place the sculpture was plastered over, and fresh reliefs modelled, showing the reuse by the ancients. The sculptures are of special interest in this tomb as, beginning in the style of Amenhetep III and being continued in the Amarna style, much being half-finished will show the processes of work. The complete clearance and publication is to follow. A painted tomb was found of a chief prophet of Anpu and Khonsu, and temple scribe of Mentu, named Hati-aăy. Doubtless this is the same as the high priest of Mentu, in the great Unnefer family, recorded on the group monument at Naples.

GRIFFITH, F. LL.—*Oxford Excavations in Nubia*. The older deities of Nubia, Hathor and Horus, were supplanted by Isis and Osiris in the Meroitic period. Various minor excavations and graves are here recorded, but none of historic importance. The fort at Faras appears to be entirely Meroitic, though surrounding the temple of Tahutmes III.

Journal of Society of Oriental Research. October, 1926.

ALBRIGHT, W. F.—*The Historical Background of Genesis xiv*. This article is an interesting discussion of the Abrahamic period; the more so as the writer is returning to the historical point of view. He says, "most saga is composed of historical episodes clad in motives of folkloristic origin . . . Some day, we venture to say, the majority of Old Testament scholars will hold views of Hebrew history which would now seem very uncritical." The position reached in this paper may be here summarised. The catastrophe of Sodom is dated by the remains at Bab el-Drâ which belong to the early Bronze Age, dated here to 1800 B.C. This was a period after the break up of the Khammurabi dynasty, when the Cossaeans came westward, and apparently also the Umman-Mandu, or Indo-Iranians.

A group of records, known as the Spartoli tablets, deal with this period. They state how an alliance of kings, including Tudkhala (Tidal) and Kudur-

Lakhamal, King of Elam (Chedorlaomer), ravaged Babylonia. The latter king levied the Umman-Mandu as auxiliaries. The absence of Cossaeon names indicates that the period must be before the IIIrd dynasty of Babylon, 1742 B.C. This invasion, therefore, probably belongs to the dark period after the Khammurabi dynasty. This Ist dynasty is now placed at 2169–1870 B.C., and the Hittite invasion, which destroyed it, as at 1870–1742 B.C., a period of which we knew nothing until these fresh tablets. A reference to this invasion of the Umman-Mandu is among the astrological texts. They are probably the Indo-Iranians, whom we know as the introducers of the horse and the Vedic gods into the Western world.

The earthen camp at Tell el-Yehudiyeh is accepted as Hyksos, as well as that at Heliopolis. These give the type which may also be recognised near Kadesh (Orontes) at El Mishrifeh, which is seven times the area of Yehudiyeh; also at Tell Sefinet Nuh, which is equal to Yehudiyeh. At Kadesh, now Tell Neby Mindu, is a similar rampart. These are compared with the Tepes of Transcaspia, and it is concluded that this was a Central Asian form of fortified camp, brought west at the Cossaeon or Iranian migration, and known to us as a Hyksos form.

The Mandu of the Spartoli tablets are apparently mercenary allies of the Elamites, as the Goyim ("nations") are in Genesis, and they seem to have settled in Babylonia. The date which is indicated for the narrative of Genesis xiv would be about 1800 B.C. or within 50 years of that. Shinar seems certainly to be Singara on the eastern branch of the Euphrates. Joining this on the west was the region of Khana. From here tablets have lately been obtained relating to a dynasty of kings who were independent; though written in Akkadian of the Ist dynasty, and of the type of that age, they are yet a little later, as they ignore Babylon. These records may then be placed about 1850 or 1800 B.C. Thus the references in Gen. xiv to the kings of the east are historically probable. The effect of the barbarous invasion of the Mandu is seen in the mounds of ruins in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia; fully two-thirds of this region was abandoned after the early Bronze Age. Aram Naharain appears to have been desolate for many centuries; the earlier place-names vanished, and the later ones are often of a "Tell," which shows that they were heaps of ruins.

Melchizedek of Jerusalem is accepted as the ruler of the time, and is supposed to have been a principal figure in the original document. The passing of Chedorlaomer to Dan on the northern frontier, and his rout there by Abraham, is rather a surprising movement; but we would suggest that Dan here is the Dannah of Joshua xv, 49, between Socoh and Debir. This would be about 25 miles from the Dead Sea, in the hill-country so well known to Abraham between Beersheba and Hebron. Thus Chedorlaomer's raid was passing up out of the Jordan valley, on to the hills, apparently to go along the ridge to the capital, Jerusalem. They were caught among the hills (where their horses were of little use) by a night raid, of perhaps a thousand men of the Hebron region with Abraham, who knew the whole complex of the country, and so the invaders were stampeded up north by the Jordan to Damascus. The grateful Melchizedek came out to meet the victors, with supplies, as they had delivered him from the attack. The tithe paid was a tribute to El Elyon, the god of the heights, who had given victory in his own territory. This southern Dannah seems to focus the whole narrative into a logical history. As Dr. Albright says, "We have been accustomed to treat the narratives of the Patriarchal Age with altogether too much disdain."

CHAINED, M.—*Chronologie de quelques inscriptions Grecques-Christiennes d'Égypte*. This paper collects the dated Coptic steles as material for the general placing of the undated. The dates range from A.D. 533 to 1122. These should be studied with the *Recueil des Inscriptions*.

Journal of East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society. August, 1926.

LUCK, C. CARDALE.—*Origin of the Maasai and kindred African Tribes and of Bornean Tribes*. The older idea of the fixity of races has now given way to vast theories of movement from continent to continent. Here we have a project of the Bantu peoples and the Borneo race having come from Syria, and we are promised the Australians from the same source. In all such questions we must remember that a political conquest is not necessarily a tribal movement. In the Assyrian conquests of Israel and Judah, only about one per cent. of the people were removed. Nearly all the bulk of the population remained as before. The various flights of Jews into Egypt were only from the governing classes, and would not be enough to form a solid tribe to settle in another country. The main reliance of the author is on the similarity of words in Hebrew and Bantu. This ground may usefully corroborate other evidence, but the application of it here does not seem nearly enough to prove the case. The light way in which resemblances may be asserted is seen in the statement, "for Automoli is the Hebrew word Semoli, to which Herodotus has applied the Greek prefix Aut in place of the S." Masai is said to be Manasseh; 'ngana probably an abbreviation of Canaan, also Kenya; Labong and Lahang in Borneo are both from Laban. When such wide differences are accepted in means of comparison, it seems that almost anything could be proposed. When we find a reference to life-giving and fertilising properties of gold and pearls we recognise the slogan of a system which misleads the unwary.

V. STRUVE. "Ort der Herkunft und Zweck der Zusammenstellung der Grossen Papyrus Harris." (*Aegyptus*, VII, pp. 1-40.)

In 1855 some fellahin found a tomb about 225 ft. from the north-east corner of the Medinet Habu temple. In the floor under the mummy was a cavity in which were five rolls of papyri. These were sent to Mr. Harris, who bought the largest, the one which now bears his name; the rest were sold to other purchasers, and their present owners and their contents are alike unknown. Dr. Struve in this paper identifies these papyri, and shows why they were found together at Medinet Habu. The first identification is of the Abbot Papyrus, which is undoubtedly of the same dynasty; and this identification would carry with it the identification of the other papyri on the Spoliation of the Tombs. The chief proof which Dr. Struve brings forward is a papyrus in the Ambraser Collection at Vienna, which is palaeographically of the same date. The papyrus contains barely two columns, which are however of the highest importance for this enquiry. The content is an inventory of the documents deposited in two pots—a common method of storing papyri. The inventory was made by a scribe of the archives; it is written in a cursive hand approximating to demotic. It is dated in the sixth year of a king, who is unnamed but bears the epithet *whm ms-wt*. First column: "(1. 6) Records of the palace of king User-Maat-Ra-mery-Amon in the House of Amon. (1. 7) Another roll, which is the copy of this record. (1. 8) 4 small rolls, which contain the records. (1. 9) Total of rolls in the pot, 9." Second column:

“(1. 1) Documents concerning the thieves, which are in the other pot. (1. 2) Register of the gold, silver and copper (1. 3) which the cemetery workmen are said to have stolen. (1. 4) Inspection of the pyramids. (1. 5) Examination of the people who are said to have laid hands (1. 6) on a tomb on the west of the city. (1. 7) Inspection of the pyramid of King Sekhem-Ra-x-taui. (1. 8) Inspection of the tomb of the military commander Ur, (1. 9) which the metal-worker, Ua-rs, has carried out. (1. 10) List of copper and the other things which the thieves took from ‘The Place of Beauty.’ (1. 11) Names of the thieves. (1. 12) Examination of the accused Pai-ka-hai, who was the controller.” Dr. Struve discusses at some length the mysterious sign in the royal name which has been read by various authorities as *ḥw*, *ḥ*, *mr*, *ḥw*, and *grg*, and comes to the conclusion on palaeographical grounds that it is really *šd*, thus identifying the name with Sekhem-Ra-shed-taui, Sebek-em-saf, whose pyramid was broken into and robbed, according to the Abbot Papyrus. Dr. Struve now proceeds to identify the known papyri with the list of documents; the “Inspection of pyramids” with the Abbot Papyrus; the “Inspection of King Sekhem-Ra-shed-taui’s pyramid” with the Amherst Papyrus; the “List of copper and the other things” with Papyrus Harris A (this is dated in the first month of the second season of Rameses IX’s seventeenth regnal year, the title of the papyrus being almost identical with that in the inventory). The “Records of the palace” is identified by Dr. Struve with the great Harris Papyrus, and User-Maat-Ra-mery-Amon with Rameses III. He points out that the records are of the palace, not of the temple, of Medinet Habu, and suggests that the four little rolls were copies of sections of the great papyrus. He suggests that as the palace was presented to the temple by Rameses IV, the royal archives would also be presented; and when the administration of the cemetery was also centred in the temple, the royal, ecclesiastical and administrative archives would be deposited together. Finally, when the congestion of documents became too great, the miscellaneous and out-of-date documents were packed into pots and hidden away. Dr. Struve ends by discussing the object for which the papyrus was written. It was not an enumeration of Rameses III’s benefactions to the gods in order to ensure his own happiness hereafter; it had another and equally important end in view. The prayers to the gods and the addresses to the officials are to enforce the splendour and glory of Rameses IV. Dr. Struve is therefore of opinion that the document was written in the lifetime of Rameses III at the appointment of Rameses IV as co-regent, and as such would be deposited among the official records of the palace. When the palace and temple were amalgamated the royal and ecclesiastical archives were placed together and finally, as noted above, were deposited together in a secret repository.

M. A. M.

REVIEWS.

The Amarna Age. By Rev. JAMES BAIKIE, with preface by STANLEY A. COOK. 8vo. xix + 465 pp., 32 pls. 1926. (A. & C. Black.) 12s. 6d.

In this work the author has extended his well-known ability in sound popularising to the higher level of a general historian. He weaves together the various strands of different peoples with success, and often with an independent judgement about diverging views. Thus a specialist may here gain a lesson of toleration, as well as an example of clear and attractive exposition. Mr. Stanley Cook begins by some pages on the unrest throughout the civilised world, which is reflected in the rapid changes in Egypt of the XVIIIth–XXIst dynasties. The period was one of the turning points in the history of man, when so much was in the balance; on this subject Mr. Baikie well describes (p. 232) the enormous influence of a single man, and had there been a military mind in place of Akhenaten the whole history of the East would have been far different.

The spacing of the work devotes about a quarter to the preliminary growth of Egypt, a quarter to the surrounding nations, as much to Akhenaten and his works, while the remaining quarter tells the sequel of decay and disaster. There are many good remarks by the way—that Tutankhamen's tomb extra-illustrated what was already known, but did not supply new ideas; that "it is fatally possible for a State religion to be too prosperous . . . and draw itself away from touch with the unprosperous people . . . for whom religion is a vital necessity"; and that the Egyptian gave us "accomplished work," good but not flighty, while the Cretan had a lower average but greater heights of brilliant imagination and execution.

The kernel of the whole book is the estimate of Akhenaten and his ideas. Here Mr. Baikie is judicial, and far removed from the valuations by previous writers, who would suppose the king to have been as fantastic or as dull as their own imaginations. The influences of his education are weighed, the growth of his views is traced, and the character of his extraordinary frankness is described, as where he is figured in state, gnawing a leg-bone while the queen is devouring a duck. The Aten worship is looked on as a development of older Egyptian ideas of Sun-worship, and any connection with Adon of Syria is repudiated. At the same time the great differences from earlier ideas are pointed out: the power of the sun residing in its rays, which do everything, giving life and all good things; the acceptance of all benefits as being due to divine love and goodness; the universality of this beneficence to every land alike—these were apparently new conceptions grafted on to an older faith. "There is a Nile in the sky for the strangers, and for the cattle of every country," and therefore Hapi is needless.

If anything, there is here too much kindness to the later art. Really, Egyptian art ceased to grow, to assimilate new principles, after the XIIth dynasty. In the XVIIIth dynasty was an infection by an alien style which could not be assimilated—already in the tomb of Khaemhat work was running into formalism—and the change ended by killing native art, and only leaving mere copying

as its resource. The sculpture of Sety, quoted as "exquisite" yet "languid," is a mechanical copy of formal style, whose beauty is that of a corpse, without any real life. The sparkle of Cretan art was entirely out of harmony with the ordered suavity of Egypt; the two could not be combined, and the flirtation with the new ideas was like an Orient sage infatuated with an Italian ballet dancer.

There is a vivid recital of the Syrian affairs, the cadging letters, the grumbles of jealousy, the troubles of anarchy, ending in the despair of the faithful. The outlines of the Cretan and Hittite powers are well described, and the old Hittite king is looked on as the villain of the break-up of Syria, fomenting troubles in order to profit by others' weakness.

The illustrations are good, but a few supreme ones are missing—the Louvre Akhenaten, the Sinai Tyi. Plate IV cannot be Tyi, yet the double uraeus proves that it was of a legitimate queen, and we are reduced to conjecture that Mutemua was intended. The volume certainly gives a more graphic account of the great turmoil than can be read elsewhere.

Les Statues Vivantes. By Mme. WEYNANTS-RONDAY. 8vo. 203 pp. 1926. (Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.) N.P.

This work is due to a suggestion of Dr. Capart to one of his pupils for a doctorate thesis. It is a careful compilation of the beliefs in (1) the extrusion of the soul into an external object, (2) the image as affecting the soul, (3) the animated image, and (4) the *Ka* and its statues. Each of these subjects has been sought in all parts of the world, in order to establish the innate structure of the general human mind on such matters. It is looked on as a natural working of thought, and not as an evidence of universal diffusion from a single centre. Such a work, so wide in its scope, will always be a useful body of reference.

There is, however, another point of view. In place of refusing—with a Frazerian reserve—to recognise, or trace, any historical connection between customs among diverse peoples, we may legitimately link together the customs of cognate tribes or races without assuming general diffusion. By inheritance it is likely that peoples having some ancestry in common will have inherited a structure of mind, a habit of thought, and a direct belief, on some of the fundamentals of life and its mystery. This consideration has not been here regarded; a principal line of comparison is with Chinese, much is American, and out of 71 quotations of belief in the first chapter only 9 are African. This neglect of the region most cognate with Egypt is unfortunate in treating of the *Ka*. The opinions of thirteen Egyptologists are quoted, not one of whom has taken into account the African beliefs which explain the position (*see* ANCIENT EGYPT, 1914, pp. 22, 162).

In the Pyramid Texts it is said that a dying man "went to his *Ka*," the dead are those "who have gone to their *Kas*." The *Ka* was appealed to for protection; "call upon thy *Ka*, like Osiris, that he may protect thee from all anger of the dead." The *Ka* helps the dead by interceding with Ra: it brings food to the dead and eats with him. The dead person lives with his *Ka*, who expels surrounding evils. In all this the *Ka* is no part of the human person, but an external genius. Yet there is no question that the living person was supposed to be accompanied by his *Ka*, who was born with him. Acts of annoyance were hateful to the *Ka*, who is thus the sense of personality; as also in acts of kindness and generosity being said to be done by the *Ka*. A son who resembled his father was said to be begotten by the *Ka*, which is therefore most essentially the person.

The whole of these diverse views are harmonised by the African beliefs in an ancestral spirit, dwelling in every man to guide and protect him. The ancestral spirit is naturally in heaven with the ancestor, but equally naturally each descendant partakes of it. Thus an ancestral portion dwells in a man, and is his true personality, while the *Ka* of the ancestor is in the next world, to welcome, help, and sustain each of the portions of the *Ka* as they arrive there. The whole idea is a perfectly logical theory of inheritance and a future life. It is a pity that this explanation has not found place in many pages given to discussing diverse opinions about the *Ka*. It is to be hoped that the authoress will give us further studies, with due regard to historical considerations.

Imhotep. By J. B. HURRY, M.A., M.D. 118 pp., 17 pls. 1926. (Oxford University Press.) 7s. 6d.

This is one of that increasing number of books written by a non-Egyptologist on an Egyptological subject; a compilation, collected from many and varied publications, of the subject which interests the author. When the author is both painstaking and accurate and possesses some critical faculty, the result, as in this instance, is satisfactory. Without making any claim to original work, Dr. Hurry has produced a monograph on Imhotep which is full of interest for the general reader. It is divided into sections giving what is known of Imhotep as a person, as a Medical Demi-God, and as the God of Medicine. Under these three heads Dr. Hurry has collected practically all that is known of a deity who appears to have risen from the ranks of men to the high position of a god. For the general reader, the book provides much information in a handy form, pleasantly set forth and well illustrated; for the scholar, it is a convenient reference-book, with a good bibliography.

M. A. M.

Die Stellung des Osiris im theologischen System von Heliopolis. By ADOLF RUSCH. (*Der Alte Orient*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 1924. Leipzig.)

The author ascribes the development of Osiris from a local to a cosmic god to his inclusion to the Ennead of Heliopolis. He dates this inclusion to the time of the Vth dynasty, and accounts for the constitution of the Ennead as follows: Atum, the time-honoured god of Heliopolis, became a cosmic god by equation with Ra. Shu and Tefnut were associated with him as his self-begotten children, and formed with him the original triad of Heliopolis. Geb and Nut were relegated to the third generation as the children of this pair. In his character of a resurrection god, Osiris needed an annually recurring foe: the ancient enmity of Set was therefore transferred by the priests from Horus to Osiris. A cosmic counterpart to Osiris as an Inundation god was to be found in Set as lord of the desert (*Sahura*, II, Pl. V) and a cosmic explanation could thus be given to their struggle by the annual destruction of the "new waters" by the scorching heat or sands of the desert. The brotherhood of Osiris and Set may be explained either by their association with Geb and Nut respectively, or by the popularity of tales of fraternal feuds. With the transference of Set's enmity to Osiris, Horus was free to become the *semry* of Osiris and to fight Set on his father's behalf; possibly the inclusion of Isis in the Ennead was a further reason for making Horus the son of Osiris. The influence of the Heliopolitan system was so great that, in constructing local Enneads, other priesthoods merely ousted Atum by their own local god. Of this procedure, Memphis is the earliest example (Memphite Stela, B.M. 797).

L. B. E.

The Recovery of Forgotten Empires. By S. A. B. MERCER, D.D. 16mo. 105 pp. 1925. (Mowbray.) \$1.50.

This summary of popular lectures is attractively written, and should give readers something of the enthusiasm of the learned author. It is mainly occupied with the cuneiform world, so much so that of a dozen portraits only two are Egyptologists, both French. Lepsius and Wilkinson ought to appear, but the latter is not even mentioned, though no one impressed his generation more with the interest of the past. In welcoming this book we may note that the Roman portraits are painted with wax, not with oil; also, happy would be the digger who should find the tools described on p. 90—so far we only have their products.

Fra Faraos Land. By Revd. G. HOWARDY. 8vo. 170 pp., 106 figs. 1925. (Copenhagen, Schultz').

The author has given a fairly full account of the course of discovery in Egypt, for the Danish public. The researches are divided in groups according to the nationality of the workers, which is not happy either for the historical or geographical view. There is also some want of balance in the statements of results. But the book gives detailed descriptions of much of the work, and has been carefully written, keeping in view the Biblical interest of the discoveries and the general aspect of development of historical and scientific method.

Ancient Chinese Mirrors. By B. SHIMA. Folio. 8 pp. English text, 50 pls. 1924. (Kyoto.)

This splendid publication must be greeted here, as another example of the vigorous archaeology of Japan. The late Kenzo Tomioka was a learned and untiring collector, and a charming man. He collected dated and important examples of mirrors without stint; of these his friends have published 65 examples, as a personal memorial. They are printed here in brilliant collotype, ranging from the geometrical designs of about 200 B.C., the flowing curves of A.D. 150, the lumpy style of about A.D. 250, down to the wiping out of all intricacy and reverting to single subjects on a plain ground, about A.D. 700.

Studies on the Rock-cut Buddhist Images. By KOSAKU HAMADA. 8vo. 27 pp. English text, 77 pls. 1925. (Kyoto Imperial University.)

This is the ninth volume of the archaeological researches of Prof. Hamada, largely assisted by Mr. Umehara. It describes a series of rock-cut figures in the north-east corner of the south island. Photographs and plans, with a geological map, give a full record of these works, dating from about the IXth century A.D.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE greatly regret the parting with a figure of the last fifty years—the late Professor Edouard Naville. His activities are well known, but his character was less familiar. He had the happy faculty of keeping a friendship whatever difference of opinions might occur. He also had a dislike of all partisan ways, and would protest against anything which he regarded as unfair or unjust. However others might differ from him, it never broke his intercourse if the opinions were honest. He was essentially a gentleman, and his example may well be an inspiration to others.

We have also to record the death of Mr. Somers Clarke, who was a valued member of the Executive Committee of the British School, since its foundation.

His successful career as an architect culminated in his appointment as Surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral, though eventually he was forced to resign his duties owing to ill-health. His last years were spent in Egypt, where his co-operation as an architectural expert was invaluable to Egyptian archaeology.

The discoveries at Glozel, on the northern edge of the central *massif* of France, promise to open up an interesting controversy. The published accounts state that in a neolithic site there were found many inscribed clay tablets and small objects. Trained archaeologists, such as M. Salomon Reinach and M. van Geunap, accept these conclusions; a geologist excavates further, and finds another piece of inscribed tablet in undisturbed earth. But now there come rumours that other authorities state the site to be much later in age; others give good reasons for discriminating between the earlier finds of small, barely legible tablets, and the later improvements, which reach up to large slabs in perfect state with punctuated inscriptions. A strong point for the early age, however, is the fact that the signary used is closely like the North Spanish and Italian, while those who found the tablets only compared them with the much less similar Phoenician. Is this going to be a repetition of Lenormant and Bouriant's adventures in epigraphy? The French archaeologists have a nice problem before them.

